

# *anarchist fortnightly* **Freedom**

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## **Inside: STUDENT ANARCHY**

# **WW III** **did you survive?**

INFORMATION gleaned from the recent military exercise "Operation Square Leg" has provided us with a unique preview of the likely outcome of a nuclear attack on Britain (see *New Statesman*, 3/10/80). If you look at the map on page 2 of this issue, you can find out if you were unlucky enough to survive World War III.

If you did survive, then no doubt, on emerging from your makeshift fallout shelter, you would now be witness to a scene of devastation so terrible that very soon you would envy the dead. Millions upon millions of rotting corpses, no water, no food, no sanitation, no gas, no electricity, no medical services. Nothing but famine and disease, genetic damage and radiation sickness. In short, the end of civilisation as we know it.

But not the end of government, mind you! According to the scenario in Operation Square Leg, they would have been safely ensconced in their subterranean bunkers along with the nation's art treasures four days before the holocaust struck!

Now this may seem a little heartless and somewhat selfish of our great leaders to have so thoughtfully provided for themselves, whilst exhorting us lesser mortals to stay in our homes, even if they do happen to be near the centre of a likely explosion. Why then has this and all previous governments since 1968 (when the civil defence corps was scrapped) made no attempt to provide adequate protection for us civ-

ilians? Because they can't! It's simply impossible.

So why then has the present Conservative government doubled spending on 'home defence' (by feathering their own bomb-proofed nests), and awarded huge pay rises to the police and the army whilst pushing more than 2 million of us out of work in order to make industry more 'efficient and competitive', i.e. more profitable to the bosses? Nuclear war is not the only threat to government. Not only do they need protection from external threats of a nuclear attack, but also from internal threats of civil disorder that they themselves are invoking through rising unemployment, falling living standards and the increasing threat of nuclear war. Once safely underground where we can't reach them, the government can control all communications, information, freedom of movement and supplies, through a network of

command bunkers (10 Armed Forces HQs & 17 Sub-regional HQs). Meanwhile, above ground, county and district 'controllers' backed up by the police and armed forces can exercise absolute authority to ensure that their orders are obeyed. In these circumstances "controllers" have absolute power over life and death - the 'ultimate sanction' as it is euphemistically described.

Current strategic thinking suggests that World War III will be preceded by 2 to 3 weeks of increasing international tension, allowing ample time for our leaders to scuttle down their



lead-lined bolt-holes to safety. Then off comes the velvet glove of liberal democracy to reveal the iron fist of authority.

As anarchists we should have no illusions about the State's response to threat, whether external or internal. At the moment, our activities are tolerated merely because they do not constitute a serious threat. But when threatened with 'anarchy and chaos'; for whatever reason, the State is prepared to deal with it. The police can and have been used to prevent mass picketing (at Grunwicks and at Brixton), the army can and have taken over essential services (Glasgow dustmen's strike and firemen's strike), telephone and postal communications, main roads, airports, railway stations etc can be sealed off and the media censored or silenced. Thus we can be sure that any form of effective protest, by violent or peaceful means, will meet with attempts to suppress it.

So where does that leave us? Powerless? Perhaps - if we delay too long - perhaps not if we organise now in order to act swiftly before the juggernaut of State repression has time to gain full speed.

A.F.

\*\*Chaos is not of course synonymous with anarchy in the author's view, although a state of chaos may be necessary prelude. Only when people cease to rely on leaders and pyramidal modes of organisation, can anarchist forms of organisation evolve to meet our mutual needs.



The 'Bomb Plot' of nuclear attack used in Square Leg. Open circles indicate airbursts which in general cause little fallout; black circles show ground bursts which are responsible for most of the fallout. Bombs usually in the range  $\frac{1}{2}$ -3 Megatons. Reproduced without the kind permission of HMG via 'New Statesman' 3/10/80

## CND march: Oct. 26

On October 26th the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will be holding a large demonstration in London marching from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square. In our next issue we shall include a review section on related issues. We would like people to sell FREEDOM on the march. If you would like to help us please phone 01 247 9249

**Be there! + sell**

## Left Redundant

BY THE TIME you read this a protest march will have reached Brighton having marched for the past week from Port Talbot in South Wales. The aim of the march, organized by the Socialist Workers Party, is to draw attention to the plight of the nation's unemployed under this reactionary government and to demand the right to work, by lobbying the Tory Party conference. They may even attempt to break up the conference and stop Maggie Thatcher speaking.

This of course will shake the very foundations of British capitalism and leave the Tories trembling in their patent leather riding boots. Inspired by this brave action the nation's young unemployed and trade unionists will no doubt seize control of the means of production and capitalism will be toppled within a fortnight...

Seriously though, just what do these leftists think they achieve by demanding the right to work? Are they really so naïve and deluded that they think the right to work is anything other than a petty reformist concession that capitalism could grant tomorrow if it wanted to, without its existence being threatened? It could grant it, but it won't because the left is no real threat to them. Partly this is because the left are still on the 'terrain of capital'. They still talk about workers controlling the market economy rather than destroying it completely. Even if the left in the form of Tony Benn and his cronies, or even anyone further left, took power they would still be working on this same terrain. People talk of militants and strikes, but what of the demands? Typical of working-class consciousness in this country at the moment



is the union picket recently of workers carrying placards bearing the message 'Stamp Out Jap Crap'.

And this is what the left, from Labour to the SWP to whatever, support. They demand the right to work in miserable jobs taking home miserable wages to buy consumer toys (with built-in obsolescence of course so that the market can supply more next year) to support an alienated pseudo-luxurious lifestyle - all of it living off the backs of the Third World where starvation

wages and military repression support this 'technology for people not profit'.

And then they have the gall to say that they are opposed to capitalism and exploitation.

The fight against capitalism MUST be the fight against all its forms in all parts of the world. It must be the fight against the rationale of production and consumption as the basis of life.

Don't be fooled into demanding rights from the bosses. Revolution

is the positive creation of all life by those who live it. It has nothing in common with those who feel put out by not being allowed their share of the alienated commodity lifestyle and are prepared to ask for more at our masters' table - or even go to the table and try to take it.

They don't feed us. We feed them. Don't ask for more crumbs from their table. Stop feeding them.

Join the refusal to work.

DS

## Bureaucracy in the CNT-AIT!

SAM DOLGOFF'S reply to Crystal in FREEDOM 19 was in important respects misleading for those without first hand experience of events in CNT.

The accusation against the opposition (parallel) in CNT-AIT was that it is a Marxist parallel structure paid by the Centrist Spanish government to 'take over' CNT.

The evidence adduced in support of this unlikely tale consisted of articles in the bourgeois press reporting (gleefully!) that the accusation had been made. A vicious circle generating an irrational hysteria: a witch-hunt. Preparation for the fifth congress: expulsions of many dissident militants in the Barcelona Federation.

Firstly, the threat of 'take-over' implies a reified alienated structure that can be taken over in a conspiratorial fashion - in simple language - a bureaucracy.

A truly open anarchist mode of organization is immune to takeover, has nothing to fear from entryist tactics of other currents, and indeed turns them to advantage as a means of opening dialogue and enriching our own thought.

Secondly, the reality of bureaucracy in CNT manifests in membership cards, number games, legalism, offices with filing cabinets containing masses of irrelevant bits of paper, big buildings with

nothing happening inside, suppression of free speech in ways direct and indirect - and finally an enormous waste of everyone's time. This was the Barcelona Federation in spring 1979: a desperate confusion.

Yet in spite of this terribly depressing reality there are large numbers of ordinary workers - like the woman ticket collector in the Metro, who when the Metro was put under martial law as a strike-breaking measure in 1978 wore her CNT-AIT badge as the only gesture of rebellion open to her, for whom the CNT-AIT remains a dream we still hope will come true.

Thirdly, there was the way an anonymous inner elite chose to apply for legalisation of CNT-AIT in autumn 1976: certainly against the consensus of militant anarchist opinion in the Barcelona region, thus providing inappropriate leadership.

Nonetheless this writer does not support the Opposition CNT fraction: what appears is a conflict between competing syndicalist power groups for control of an institutional apparatus - and all this as always, to the grave detriment of the real interests of the masses. The possibility can not be discounted moreover that the conflict has been stirred and envenomed by agents provocateurs on both sides in the hire of agencies of imperialism. Of course, this must

remain speculative until we have access to the secret files of the Spanish and American intelligence services - but CNT-AIT as an open legal organization clearly was penetrated at every level, and what we know of CIA methods in South America in destabilising and disarticulating revolutionary organizations does bear a strong resemblance to the tragic farce occurring among our own people in the Iberian peninsula.

The CNT-AIT remains the only mass organization that takes as its explicit objective - libertarian communism. It is the only social revolutionist workers union in Europe. Those who seek to destroy it are out of their minds. Moreover, as a decentralist organization, grave mistakes in any one region or trade do not condemn the whole - the strength of CNT-AIT lies in its base!

What was needed in 1976, and is still more urgently needed today is the reconstruction of CNT-AIT in accordance with its basic principles, the eradication of permanent posts such as the General Secretaryship and National Committee: an educational programme that will equip every member to be an equal participant in struggle, and the eradication of the cult of the personality.

What is needed is the reconstruction of the Union in forms appropriate to the computer/space age. What is needed is revolutionary imagination.

JAYBIRD

WILDCAT



# PORTUGAL: Women and children last

Portugal is basically a male dominated society and the Revolution of the 25th of April 1974 totally failed in practice to eradicate the most obvious forms of oppression against women and children, be it at home, at work or at school.

This is because Portugal is a devout catholic country where the places of women and children are, in the hierarchy of values of the Roman catholic church, at the bottom of the pile and no amount of left-wing rhetoric will change in the foreseeable future this situation, even in a country where women and children are legally protected within the framework of a classless orientated Constitution.

In a country in which Left, Centre and Right-wing politics are geared to take control of the state apparatus, the plight of women is totally subordinated to demagogic electioneering and not a single party in Portugal has in its programme the legalisation of abortion, promotion of childrens' rights or the execution of existing laws against child labour or, as in present cases, the export of babies for adoption by rich North American families.

The Women's Democratic Movement (MDM) is no more than an electoral agency controlled by the Portuguese Communist Party which, in matters of women's liberation is as much enlightened as the Fascists are, seeing women's role in society as wives, mothers, producers and consumers, sufferers etc....

The Women's liberation movement is almost nonexistent, in the eyes of the public at least, and only the Portuguese Trots and anarchists have some sort of sympathy for and give support to women's struggles for freedom and autonomy in life.

The biggest surprise, however, in contemporary Portuguese politics was the request made by President Eanes to a progressive middle-class catholic woman - Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo - to form an interim government in 1978/9 after having sacked the Socialist leader Mario Soares. Ms Pintassilgo lasted only 100 days in office after having voiced public

and political interest in women's and children's social and sexual issues.

The Right accused her of being a crypto-communist and the Socialists and the Communists supported her only as a reaction against the Right's attacks, but so faintly and so late that the first ever Portuguese woman prime-minister had to go, a victim of a male dominated political machinery incapable of modernising its thinking and allowing this respected and capable reformist woman politician to bring changes in Portuguese society.

In today's swamp of male politics, Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo still stands high in the opinions of working class women in particular who sensed that at last there was someone in Government capable of understanding the problems they have to endure daily at the hands of pitiless bosses, violent husbands and boyfriends, rapists, cat calling in the streets, public transports, at work, on holidays, etc.

Ms Pintassilgo's popularity became obvious during her term of office while visiting shanty towns, factories employing mainly women, hospitals, etc., making a point to encourage women themselves to fight back within their own communities against male inflicted exploitation, promising meanwhile to bring changes through parliament in order to alleviate the most obvious injustices perpetrated against women and children in Portugal. She even took up the problem of abortion, and that for a Portuguese catholic woman is very courageous.

Today Ms Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo is a reformer and campaigner for women's rights, throwing her considerable political weight behind the Socialist Party in order to fight the Parliamentary Elections of the 5th of October and get rid of the Conservative Government of Sa Carneire (A.D.) the most reactionary and vicious government Portugal has had since the Revolution of 1974.

All the anarchists I contacted while on holiday in Portugal spoke of Ms Pintassilgo with great respect and they hope that within the framework of parliamentary politics she will help to bring changes in Portuguese society, for she has caught the political attention of millions of women who really liked her style of grass roots politics (in Britain her political equivalent would be the libertarian community neighbourhood militancy proposed by Peter Hain while he was active in the Young Liberals.....)

This, in a country in which all political parties seem to be able only to contest who walks along the dark corridors of power, probably explains why our Portuguese comrades are unwilling to antagonise Ms Pintassilgo for, in the context of Portuguese politics, she is, in many issues, a libertarian Socialist trapped by her Reformist and her religious perception of how a male dominated society can be partially changed from below and partially legislated from the top. Her grass roots militancy (while not in power.) puts to shame many of us anarchists in Britain for it takes guts to talk about abortion in Portugal when you are a woman and a catholic as well.

Claude.

OLD AND NEW  
THE SAME  
OPPRESSION





# CHINA ON TRIAL

It is becoming obvious that China's period of probation is coming to an end and its period of revolutionary and libertarian socialism is being consigned to oblivion along with the name and memory of Mao Tse Tung.

There are doubtless hundreds of minor citizens such as Deng Yuangi (who has not yet even been charged) detained in 1977 for denunciations of Lin Biao in Canton. Western journalists are more familiar with the case of Wei Tingsheng who was tried in October 1979 and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment for 'counter-revolutionary crimes'. This is all a prelude to the great trial (possibly comparable to the Moscow Trials of the thirties) of the Gang of Four - which is by implication a trial of those who influenced Mao.

Along with these trials, there are deliberate incursions along what was once denounced as the capitalist road. The import of Coca Cola, the setting up of a Stock Exchange (.) and facilities for the advertising of Western goods. Above all there has been the innovation of variants on the Chinese language, changing names of people and places, by this method, whole memory-banks have been wiped out, perhaps officials hope that China's revolutionary past will be eliminated and they can settle down to a stable state-socialism.

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Wei Tingsheng was the editor of *Exploration* which was an unofficial magazine; not banned until 1979. Originally freedom of the press was encouraged by Mao let one hundred flowers bloom was his original statement. His successors classified many as weeds and went forth with the herbicide.

In *Exploration* March 1979 Wei wrote "Everyone in China is well aware that the Chinese social system is not democratic and that this lack of democracy has severely stunted every aspect of the country's social development over the past

30 years."

He further went on to criticise, in libertarian terms, the present Chinese government, including their defence, ironically enough, of Mao's reputation. Wei was put on trial and an unofficial transcript was smuggled out and put on sale in Peking. It has been reprinted in Hong-Kong, in France and in London it was reprinted in 3 parts in (of all places) *Harpers and Queen*.

Wei conducted his own defence which, considering the nature of Chinese justice was not as rash as it seems. The charges against Wei were broadly described as 'counter-revolutionary crimes'. In detail, firstly he was accused of providing foreigners with our nation's military intelligence at the time (Feb. '79) of a defensive counter-attack against Vietnam (i.e. pre-emptive strike). Secondly Wei was accused of spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda and agitation. The judge said that the Chinese constitution stipulated that Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong (formerly known as Tse-Tong) Thought is the guiding ideology of the People's Republic of China. "Wei Tingsheng slandered these when he said that they were an 'even more brilliant piece of quackery than any of the old itinerant pox-doctor's panaceas'"

Wei, by reason of his editorial position certainly had to have foreign contacts, suspicious as these certainly would be to the authorities. Also, he used his contact to try and obtain a typewriter (ordinary private individuals cannot buy a typewriter in China) and a tape-recorder (which he was lent by a foreign correspondent) and foreign magazines. The main charge on which emphasis was placed was what was no more than an indiscretion of gossip (Doubly unwise in the case of a vulnerable 'underground' editor like Wei).

This was substantiated by the production of a 'recorded conversation' - which seems to imply that Wei's apartment was bugged and his indiscretion in spreading



From "Bayou La Rose"

rumours. In his defence Wei stated that his indictment implied that information was supplied to an 'enemy' whereas the British and French journalists were greeted even by Hua Guofeng as 'friends'. None of the information Wei gleaned and passed on, was "classified" information from official documents. And, to quote Wei could have no harmful effect on the frontline situation'. For example he had mentioned the name of the Commander-in-Chief - "whoever" said the accused 'has heard of a victory being won because the Commander-in-Chief's name was not revealed?'

Wei stated that "anything that comes into the authorities' head may be considered a national secret" and "the ordinary citizen... may be obliged to abide by the constitution and the law, but he is under no obligation to abide by rules and regulations about which he knows nothing, since they were made by some internal bureau."

As to the charge of 'counter-revolution'; the use of the term 'counter-revolution' Wei said "as an immutable political concept for assessing the guilt of those charged with crimes is like using the willow catkins floating in the breeze as a device for assessing attitude. This is the reason behind the great number of injustices, wrongs and misjudged cases which have arisen in this country over the past 30 years."

Wei claimed that since his articles promoted more democracy therefore it was his opponents who were counter-revolutionary. He proclaimed 'Marxism's fate is common to that of several religions after the second or third generation of transmission, its revolutionary substance is quietly removed, while its doctrinal ideas are partially taken over by the rulers, to be used as an excuse to enslave the people and as a tool to "deceive and fool them".'

On the fourth charge, Wei claimed that since the constitution stipulated free speech, Wei's publications were not inciting the

Continued on p.7 column 3

## LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LET

## Prisons

Freedom,

There are now over 40,000 people in British jails and for years we have heard that action must be taken to reduce the prison population yet nothing concrete has happened. It seems that the whole question of prisons has been brushed under the carpet. The working class, in the last year, have been subjected to the Tory dogs calling for tougher policies in the area of law and order. They say that the working class must be shown that "crime does not pay" but it seems to pay for the judges, the police, the courts, the prisons, screws, probation officers, lawyers, the list is endless. Prison is one of our major growth industries, and yet it seems that we have failed to realise that Prisons are one of the sharpest weapons in the state armoury, in its efforts to silence and isolate working class resistance. The left seem to be content to talk about the emergence of the police state, yet I must ask do we have anything else. Prisoners have already shown their revolutionary spirit by taking direct action, but this has met with little support from those on the outside. No revolutionary struggle can be complete if the institutions and machinery of state repression are still in existence. If we believe the slogan, all prisoners are political prisoners, then we must be prepared to show our solidarity by taking practical actions. These may not seem to be very revolutionary at a glance, but they still provide a stepping stone for the future. Here is a list of a number of schemes that are already underway and which the readers of Freedom can support.

#### Prisoners Support Schemes

Many large towns have at least one prison nearby, the aim of the support groups is to get local people to visit and write to prisoners offering them support, advice and information, and to get important information in and out of the prisons, this also could be complemented by each group producing a newsletter, which would be given out to those who visit prisoners and the local community. There are support groups at the following prisons. Brixton Prisoners Support Group. c/o 121 Railton Road, London SE24.

Holloway Prisoners Support Group. Box 33, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

Pentonville Prisoners Support Group. c/o 143 St. Francis Tower, Chingford Hall Estate, London E4.

Long Lartin Prisoners Support Group. c/o John England, Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry.

#### Prisoners Book Scheme

This scheme is just getting off the ground. It wants publishers, bookshops and members of the public to donate books and cash so that books can be sent in to prisoners for free. We also need people who are willing to offer their time and energy to get the scheme established. If you can help in any way, please write to Prisoners Book Scheme c/o Box 33, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

#### Breakout

This is a bi-monthly magazine written and produced by ex cons, prisoners and others who are up against the law. There have now been five issues, and Breakout would welcome more participation from other people. Topics include the police, news from prisoners, court reports, information on judges, lawyers, magistrates, probation officers etc. plus letters from prisoners, crosswords, cartoons and graphics. Breakout is sent in to prisoners for free, and costs 25p to those lucky to be on the outside. Contact Breakout, c/o Box 66, 182 Upper Street, London N1, or phone George on 01 555 0289.

These may not seem very radical but they are some of the ways in which we can show our solidarity in practical terms.

Love, rage and anarchy.

Alan Leader

Ruth Wajsblyn.

## ZANU

Dear friends

Two questions regarding vol. 41 no. 18:

1) As anarchists are opposed to all nationalist movements and governments is it not illogical of them to support ZANU and the government of Mr Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe?

2) (For NW) What is impure fiction?

Yours fraternally  
JOHN L. BROOM

Orkney

## 'official science'

Freedom,

NIGEL PENNICK's letter (27 September) begins with a criticism of a Wildcat cartoon (13 September) on the grounds that the "unofficial science" which it mocks is superior to and more libertarian than "official science", and adds a general attack on the ideology of scientific rationalism and those anarchists who accept it. The double point of the cartoon was that such things as telepathy, astrology, divination, ufology, and occultism in general are not really scientific at all, and that, while belief in the paranormal has often appeared in the anarchist movement, it is not essential to but is even opposed to anarchism. I would suggest that, like all the Wildcat cartoons, this was not only witty but true.

It is misleading to suggest that "official science" is always authoritarian, hierarchical, closed and destructive, and that "unofficial science" is always libertarian, egalitarian, open and creative; there is good and bad in both, and the real difference is that most people who use or understand science prefer the official variety because it seems closer to the facts. It is misleading to suggest that government science is the same as "official science"; it may cover "unofficial science" (astrology, alchemy, parapsychology) and it may oppose "official science" (Mendelian genetics, human biology, psychosurgery), and the reason it generally ignores "unofficial science" is that it generally doesn't work.

It is misleading to say that "the Dounreay nuclear plutonium factory and the Braham horror farm" are the results of the system of "official science"; so are the greatly increased expectation of life and standard of living of ordinary people all over the world. It is misleading to suggest that nineteenth-century physical science has been superseded by post-quantum physics and that nineteenth-century natural science has been overtaken by modern genetics and molecular biology; the advances of the present century derive directly from those of the previous century, and the work of Faraday and Clerk Maxwell and of Darwin and Huxley has been largely confirmed rather than contradicted by their successors.



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It is misleading to say that followers of "official science" "rabidly attack all investigations into unofficial science"; they reasonably conclude that the record of the past two centuries shows such work to be a waste of time and effort and to be vitiated by the deception both of and by scientists. It is misleading to equate disbelief in the paranormal with belief in totalitarian religious or political ideologies; anarchists who are scientific rationalists disbelieve in the paranormal in the same way and for the same reason that they disbelieve in all dogmatic systems, whether religious, political, or scientific. Nigel Pennick is quite free to examine geomancy or sacred geometry if he wants, and to expound the paranormal in the anarchist press; but we are quite free to reject both on the grounds that the evidence is unconvincing and that emotional abuse is a poor argument. The issue between "official" and "unofficial" science is not whether either of them is used well or badly or feels right or wrong, but which of them fits the facts and gets the results. The "authority" of science is not that of individual scientists or particular hypotheses, but that of an empirical methodology and rational philosophy which has a special appeal for anarchists because it progresses by the continuous correction of error in public. The con is not to believe in science but to believe in a short cut to truth.

N.W.

Rationalist Press Association,  
London.

## Using the census

Dear FREEDOM

I was very interested in the letter by the Mansfield and Ashfield Campaign against Nuclear Development and Missiles letter calling for the 1981 census to be used as a form of referendum on the nuclear question. But surely it would be far more useful to seize the opportunity to protest against the government's policies and the state in general. Rather than foolishly returning the census with both one's name and objections on, as MACANDAM suggested, it would be far simpler if there were a mass refusal to take part in the census and everyone accidentally on purpose lost their census forms.

Yours sincerely

P.E.

## Disbandment

A reply to the article in FREEDOM Vol 41 No19 'Young Liberals Disband'

OUR reasons for our political methods are as follows:

1. The Young Liberals are committed to what we call the dual approach. This means that we work both inside and outside the system for change. We believe that it is only by the combined efforts of libertarians opposing the existing political, social and economic structures and by the efforts of those willing to take our ideas into the machinery of government that the system can be changed for the better.
2. The 'revolutionary' posture suggests there is an option in politics which has never been seen in an advanced industrialised country. Even the events in France in 1968 were far from characterising a revolution. We are sceptical about such an event ever happening.
3. Reforms reduce human suffering and extend the area of freedom. The difference between YL 'reformists' and anarchist 'revolutionaries' is a difference over choice of labels rather than representing vast differences in lifestyle or in political objectives. We differ over means not ends.
4. David Steel is the Liberal Party's public face not all that there is to the Liberal Party. We can and do organise against his ideas, often successfully.
5. Pure ideas without practical expression in terms most people understand are useless. We attempt to build a bridge between our ideas and peoples views and experiences now. This is far less arrogant and authoritarian than the anarchist approach which assumes people can make a jump from their current views to an anarchist utopia. This does not and has never happened - a long process of educative experiences was necessary to produce the situation that so briefly prevailed in Republican Spain in the 1930s for example.
6. There is a qualitative difference between radical liberalism involving the dual approach and the politics of social democracy. The social democrats are the real inheritors of the old liberal tradition, radical liberals recognise influences from anarchism, pacifism, socialism, Marxism, and Christianity.

The article by Gaia fails to see the distinction, nor does she deal with the community politics resistance led and/or stimulated by radical liberals at a local level that is of far greater importance than David Steel's love affair with the unholy trinity of Owen, Williams, and Rodgers.

yours sincerely,  
Steve Dawe,

YL national executive

(formerly member of Canterbury anarchist Group)

A reply to this letter will appear in the next issue.

CHINA ON TRIAL cont. from p.5

overthrow of the system. By tearing passages out of context the Public Prosecutor bolstered up the false charge of seeking "to overthrow the government". There was no conspiracy, no violent organization. "Exploration was part of the democratic cause."

"The constitution's granting (to) citizens the right to criticize their leaders is because these leaders are not gods. It is only through the people's criticism and supervision that those leaders will make fewer mistakes, and only in this way that the people will avoid the misfortune of having their lords and masters ride roughshod over them. And then, and only then, will the people be able to breathe freely."

It is quite obvious that Wei could be considered from an anarchist standpoint as merely a reformist democrat. But in the situation in Communist China, rapidly becoming more totalitarian it is no 'mere' thing to stand up for freedom and a logical extension of such freedoms as there are left would lead to loss of power by the new rulers of China. It is doubly ironical that Wei Tingsheng quoted in his defence the abuses of power by 'The Gang of Four' which we are constantly hearing about, however the Prosecutor, was forced to say that he believed Wei's criticisms were directed against the present rulers of China. Too true.

We honour Wei Tingsheng and those countless Chinese who have taken seriously the "revolutionary" government's pretensions to freedom of speech and expression. And for that find themselves in prison. It is as Thoreau said, "the only place for a just man."

Jack Robinson.



# FREEDOMCONTACTS

**FREEDOM PRESS**

in Angel Alley  
84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET  
LONDON E1 Phone 01-247 9249

This list shows all groups who have given us an address. If you want to be on it - drop us a line.

## INLAND

**ABERDEEN** Libertarian Group c/o 163 King St., Aberdeen.  
**ABERYSTWYTH.** David Fletcher, 59 Cambrian St. Aberystrwyth.  
**BARRY.** Terry Philips, 16 Robert St., Barry, South Glamorgan.  
**BELFAST** Anarchist Collective, Just Books, 7 Winetavern St., Belfast 1.  
**BIRMINGHAM** anarchists/anarcha-feminists meet Sundays. Contact Alison at Peace Centre, 18 Moore St. Ringway, B'ham 4 (tel. 021 643 0996).  
**BRIGHTON** Libertarian Socialist group, c/o Students Union, Falmer House, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton.  
**BRISTOL.** City: 4 British Rd., Bristol BS3 3BW.  
**Students:** Libertarian Society, Students Union, Queen's Road, Bristol.  
**CAMBRIDGE** anarchists, Box A, 41 Fitzroy St., Cambridge.  
**CANTERBURY** Alternative Research group.  
**Students Union**, University of Kent, Canterbury.  
**CARDIFF.** Write c/o One-O-Eight Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Road.  
**COVENTRY.** John England, Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry.  
**DUBLIN** Love V. Power, Whelan's Dance Studio, 51 South King Street, Dublin 2.  
**EAST ANGLIAN** Libertarians, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.  
**EXETER** anarchist collective, c/Community Assn., Devonshire House, Stocker Rd., Exeter.  
**GLASGOW** anarchist group, John Cooper, 34 Raithburn Avenue, Castlemilk, Glasgow G45.  
**Hastings** Anarchists, 18a Markwick Terrace, Saint Leonard's-on-Sea, East Sussex (0424) 420 620.  
**HULL** Libertarian Collective, 16 Park Grove, Hull, N. Humberside.  
**KEELE** anarchist group c/o Students Union, The University, Keele.  
**Keighley** Anarchists, 37 Parkwood Street, Keighley, BD21 4QH.  
**LAMPETER** anarchist group, c/o Adian James, S.D.U.C. Lampeter, Dyfed SA48 7ED, Wales.  
**Liverpool** Anarchist Group, c/o Hywel Ellis, Students' Union, Liverpool University, Liverpool.  
**LEAMINGTON** & Warwick, c/o 42 Bath St., Leamington Spa.  
**LEEDS** Dave Brown, 30 Park Row, Knaresborough (nr. Harrogate) N. Yorkshire.  
**LEICESTER.** Blackthorn Books, 74 Highcross St. (tel. Leic.

21896) and Libertarian Education, 6 Beaconsfield Rd. (tel. Leic. 552085).

## L O N D O N :

Anarchist Feminists, Box 33, Rising Free, 182 Upper St. N.1 (01-359 3785), staffed Mons. & Weds. 10 am-6 pm for visits. Or write c/o Box 33, Rising Free.  
**Anarchy Collective**, 37a Grosvenor Ave., N.5 (01-359 4794 before 7 pm). Meets each Thurs. from 7 pm at Little A Press, 1 Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, E.1 (22a bus or Wapping tube).  
**Freedom Collective**, 84B Whitechapel High St (Angel Alley) E1 (01-247 9249). Aldgate East tube, nr. Whitechapel Art Gallery.)  
**Kingston** anarchists, 13 Denmark Rd., Kingston-upon-Thames (01 549 2564).  
**London Workers' Group**, Box W, 182 Upper St., N.1. (01-249 7042) meets Tuesdays 8pm at Metropolitan pub, 75 Farringdon Road.  
**WEST LONDON ANARCHISTS:**  
**Box WLA. FREEDOM.**  
**XTRA!** Structureless Tyranny, 182 Upper St., Islington, N.1.

**MALVERN & Worcester** area, Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storrage, Malvern, Worcs.  
**NORWICH** anarchists c/o Free-wheel Community Books, 56 St. Benedicts St., Norwich, Norfolk.  
**NOTTINGHAM**, c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St. (tel. 582506) or 15 Scotholme Ave., Hyson Green (tel. 708302).  
**OLDHAM.** Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd., Failsworth, Manchester.

**OXFORD** anarchist group, Anarchist Workers group, Anarcho-Feminists, and Solidarity, all groups c/o 34 Cowley Road Oxford.

**PAISLEY** (College) anarchist group c/o Students Union, Hunter St. Paisley, Renfrews.

**PLYMOUTH** Anarchists 115. St. Pancras Ave. Penny Cross Plymouth

**RHONDDA & Mid Glamorgan**, Henning Andersen, 'Smiths Arms', Treherbert, Mid Glam.  
**SHEFFIELD** anarchists c/o 4 Havelock Square, Sheffield S10 2PQ.  
**Libertarian Society:** PO Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE.  
**SWANSEA** Don Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Dunvant, Swansea.  
**SWINDON** area. Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon.

**TAYSIDE** Anarchist Group 3L 188 Strathmartine Road Dundee  
**TORBAY** anarchist federation, 24 Beverley Rise, Brixham, Devon.

## NATIONAL

**MIDLANDS** Federation. Secretariat c/o Coventry group.

**NORTH EAST** Anarchist Federation - as for Hull.

**THAMES VALLEY** Anarchist Federation - contact Oxford or Reading group.

**DIRECT ACTION** Movement, Sec. c/o Box 20, 164/166 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M14 3BN.

**LIBERTARIAN** Communist Group (publ. 'Libertarian Communist' qrtly), LCG c/o 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1.

**POSTAL** Workers Network, write Box PW, 182 Upper St., Islington, London N.1.

**SOLIDARITY** libertarian communist organisation (publ. 'Solidarity for Social Revolution') c/o 123 Lathom Rd., London E6. Groups & mems. in many towns.

**ANARCHA UNITED MYSTICS** meet each Thursday from 8 pm at the Half-Way House pub, opposite Camden Town Tube Station, London.

## MEETINGS

**Solidarity Manchester** Public Meeting upstairs at the Star and Garter Fairfield Street Manchester. 17th October 7.45pm (come early) Lessons of the Polish Strikes.

**PARITY WITH POLAND-FREE TRADE UNIONS IN BRITAIN.**  
Public meeting of the London Workers Group. 8.00pm Tuesday 14th. October Metropolitan Pub Farringdon Road EC1 (Farringdon tube)

**LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION CONFERENCE.** Weekend October 25/26 in Leicester. For details contact Lib. Ed 6 Beaconsfield Rd. Leicester also NEW Lib Ed no.29

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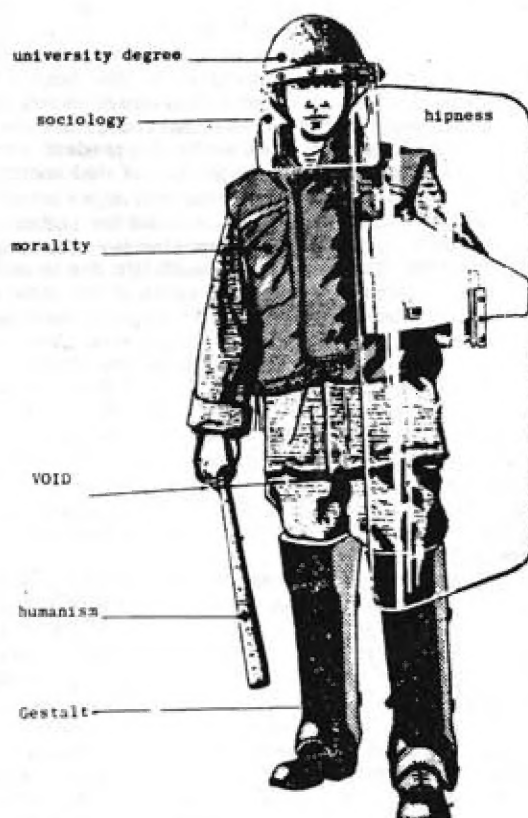
# STUDENT ANARCHY

This Review section contains excerpts from 'On the Poverty of Student Life' followed by a blueprint for and the beginnings of a planned pamphlet on students and anarchism as well as other relevant writings.

## On the Poverty of Student Life

Adapted from *On the Poverty of Student Life* - first published at Strasbourg University in 1966 by a group of students and members of the Situationist International, using University money, and since reprinted in various places. Copies of the complete text are available from Freedom Collective, Post Office Box 14, Mount Hawthorn, Western Australia, 6016. Please include a donation for postage.

THERE IS NO student problem. Student passivity is only the most obvious symptom of a general state of affairs, for each sector of social life has been subdued by the same imperialism. Our social thinkers have a bad conscience about the student problem, but only because the real problem is the poverty and servitude of all. But we have different reasons to despise students and all their works. What is unforgivable is not so much their own actual misery but their complaisance in the face of the misery of others. For them there is only one real alienation - their own. They are full-time and happy consumers of that commodity, hoping to arouse at least our pity since they cannot claim our interest. By the logic of modern capitalism, most students can only become mere petit-cadres (with the same function in neo-capitalism as the skilled worker had in the nineteenth century economy.) The student really knows how miserable will be that golden future which is supposed to make up for the shameful poverty of the present. In the face of that knowledge they prefer to dote on the present and invent an imaginary prestige for themselves. After all there will be no magical compensation for present drabness: tomorrow will be the same as yesterday, lighting these fools the way to dusty death. Not unnaturally they take refuge in an unreal present.



Students are stoical slaves: the more chains authority heaps upon them, the freer they are in fantasy. They share with their new family, the University, a belief in a curious kind of autonomy. Real independence, apparently, lies in a direct subservience to the two most powerful systems of social control: the family and the State. They are well-behaved and grateful children, and like submissive children are eager to please. They celebrate all the values and mystifications of the system, devouring them with all the anxiety of the infant at the breast. Once, the only illusions had to be imposed on an aristocracy of labour; the petit-cadres-to-be ingest them willingly under the guise of culture.

There are various forms of compensation for poverty. The total poverty of ancient societies produced the grandiose compensation of religion. The students' poverty by contrast is a marginal phenomenon and they cast around for compensations amongst the most down-at-heel images of the ruling class. They are bores who repair the old jokes of an alienated culture. Even as ideologists they are always out of date. One and all, their latest enthusiasms were ridiculous thirty years ago.

Once upon a time universities were respected. And students persist in the belief that they are lucky to be there. But they



arrived too late. The bygone excellence of bourgeois culture has vanished. A mechanically produced specialist is now the goal of the 'educational system'. A modern economic system demands mass production of students who are not educated and have been rendered incapable of thinking. Hence the decline of the universities and the automatic nullity of the students once they enter its portals. The university has become a society for the propagation of ignorance; 'high culture' has taken on the rhythm of the production line; without exception, university teachers are cretins, people who would get the bird from any audience of school children. But students are easily conned into accepting these idiots as equals and therefore they listen to them eagerly and respectfully and are pleased at being allowed the privilege of talking to them.

But all this hardly matters: the important thing is to go on listening respectfully. In time, if critical thinking is repressed without enough conscientiousness, students will come to partake of the wafer of knowledge, the professors will tell them the final truths of the world. Till then - a poverty of spirit. As a matter of course the future revolutionary society will condemn the doings of the lecture theatre and faculty as mere noise - socially undesirable. The student is already a very bad joke.

There was once a vision - if an ideological one - of a liberal bourgeois university. But as its social base disappeared the vision became banality. In the age of free-trade capitalism when the 'liberal' state left it its marginal freedoms, the university could still think of itself as an independent power. Of course it was a pure and narrow product of that society's needs - particularly the need to give the privileged minority an adequate general culture before they rejoined the ruling class (not that going up to university was straying very far from class lines.) But the bitterness of the nostalgic don is understandable. No-one dares any longer to speak in the name of nineteenth century liberalism, so they reminisce about the 'free' and 'popular' universities of the middle ages - that 'democracy of unfreedom'. Nonetheless it is better to be the bloodhound of the haute bourgeoisie than sheepdog to the world's white-collars. Better to stand guard on privilege than harry the flock into their allotted factories and offices, according to the whims of the 'planned economy'. The university has become, fairly smoothly, the honest broker of technocracy and its spectacle. In the process the purists of the academic Right become a pitiful sideshow, purveying their 'universal' cultural goods to a bewildered audience of specialists.

More serious, and thus more dangerous, are the modernists of the Left and the student unions, with their talk of 'reform of University structure', 're-insertion of the University into social and economic life', 'technology for people not profit' - in other words the adaptation of the university and knowledge to the needs of modern capitalism. Universities, the one-time suppliers of general culture to the ruling classes, though still guarding their old prestige, have been converted into the forcing-houses of a new labour aristocracy. Far from contesting the historical process which subordinates one of the last relatively autonomous social groups to the demands of the market, the progressives of the Left complain of delays and inefficiency in its completion. They are the standard-bearers of the cybernetic university of the future which is already rearing its ugly head. And they are the enemy; the fight against the market means the fight against its latest lackeys in the Left.

As for the students, this struggle is fought out entirely over their heads, somewhere in the realm of their rulers. The whole of their lives are beyond their control and for all they see of the world they might as well be on another planet.

They parade their very ordinary indigence as if it were an original life-style: self-indulgently they affect to be Bohemians. The Bohemian solution is hardly viable at the best of times, and the notion that it could be achieved without a complete and final break with the University milieu is ludicrous. But student Bohemians - and they all like to pretend that they are Bohemians at heart - cling to their false, degraded, alienated version of individual revolt. They are so 'eccentric' that they continue fifty years after Reich's excellent lessons - to entertain the most traditional forms of erotic behaviour, reproducing at this level the general relations of class society. Where sex is concerned we have learnt better tricks from elderly provincial ladies. Students' rent-a-crowd militancy for the latest good cause is an aspect of their impotence.

The real poverty of students' everyday life finds its immed-

iate compensation in the optimum of cultural commodities. In the cultural spectacle they are allotted their habitual role of dutiful disciple. Although they are close to the point of its production, access to the Sanctuary of Thought is forbidden, and students are obliged to discover 'modern culture' as an admiring spectator. Art is dead, but the student is a necrophiliac. They peek at the corpse in cinemas and theatres, at concerts and in books. They buy its fish fingers in the supermarket of culture. Consuming unreservedly they are in their element. They are living proof of all the platitudes of American market research: a conspicuous consumer, complete with induced irrational preference for Brand X (Camus for example) and irrational prejudice against Brand Y (Sartre perhaps).

Impervious to real passions, they seek titillation in the battles between the anaemic gods, the stars of a vacuous heaven, and between their rival theologies, designed like all theologies to mask the real problems by creating false ones - humanism-existentialism-scientism-structuralism-cyberneticism-new criticism-dialectics of natureism-meta-philosophism...

They think they are avant-garde if they have seen, ie consumed, the latest happening. They discover 'modernity' as fast as the market can produce its ersatz version of long outmoded ideas. Every rehash is a cultural revolution. Status is the principal concern, and they eagerly snap up all the paperback editions of important and 'difficult' texts with which mass culture has filled the book-stores. If they had an atom of self-respect or lucidity they would knock them off. But no - conspicuous consumers always pay. Unfortunately they can't read, so they devour them with their gaze and enjoy them vicariously through the gaze of their friends. They are other-directed voyeurs.

Their favourite reading is the kitsch press, whose task it is to orchestrate the consumption of cultural nothing boxes. Docile as ever, students accept its commercial wiles and makes them the only measuring rod of their tastes. Typically they are compulsive consumers of the Sunday colour supplements and weeklies such as *New Statesman*, *New Society* etcetera. Their ideas are not native - they get them from these rags. And it is with such guides that they hope to gain an understanding of the modern world and become political initiates!

We must add in all fairness that there do exist students of a tolerable intellectual level, who without difficulty dominate the controls designed to check the mediocre capacity demanded from the others. They do so for the simple reason that they have understood the system, and so despise it and know themselves to be its enemies. They are in the system for what they can get out of it - particularly grants. They calmly carry the germs of sedition to the highest level: their open contempt for the organization is the counterpart of a lucidity which enables them to outdo the system's lackeys, intellectually and otherwise. Such students cannot fail to become the theorists of the revolution. For the moment they make no secret of the fact that what they take so easily from the system will be used for its overthrow.

The liberation of modern history, and the free use of its hoarded acquisition, can come only from the forces it represses. In the nineteenth century the proletariat was already the inheritor of philosophy; now it inherits modern art and the first conscious critique of everyday life. With the self-destruction of the working-class, art and philosophy shall be realized. To transform the world and to change the structure of life are one and the same thing for the proletariat. They are the passwords to its destruction as a class, its dissolution of the present reign of necessity, and its accession to the realm of liberty. As its maximum programme it has the radical critique and free reconstruction of all values and patterns of behaviour imposed by an alienated reality. The only poetry it can acknowledge is the creativity released in the making of history, the free invention of each moment and each event - poetry made by all - the beginning of the revolutionary celebration. Proletarian revolt is a festival or it is nothing; in revolution the road of excess leads once and for all to the palace of wisdom. A palace which knows only one rationality: the game. The rules are simple: TO LIVE INSTEAD OF DEVISING A LINGERING DEATH, AND TO INDULGE UNTRAMMELED DESIRE.



# BLUEPRINT

## for an anarchist pamphlet

### INTRODUCTION

Looking around for anarchist pamphlets with which to stock a student book stall, I discovered that, firstly, there are only a few cheap introductions to anarchist thought and, secondly, that I could find nothing specifically aimed at students. This article is an attempt to begin to fill this second gap by starting to assemble the material for a pamphlet entitled, 'Student Anarchy'

The final pamphlet is going to have to cover a lot of ground and this Review Section cannot pretend to have done that. But it seems preferable to publish something rather than nothing, particularly since other people may be stimulated to contribute to what is, in effect, a public debate. An outline of what I feel the eventual pamphlet should consist of now follows and then the material that has been gathered for this preliminary version. If anyone has has ideas, let me know, care of FREEDOM.

### ONE

A description of society as it is, a description of society as it ought to be and an account of how we get from the former to the latter. This should be familiar ground to 'Freedom' readers and I won't go into the details except to stress the ecological aspect of the new society. The particular topic of education must be seen in the context of the society in which it occurs.

### TWO

An account of knowledge - institutions of education allegedly exist to promote the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge but the reality is rather different.

An example of an article dealing with this kind of thing, is Nigel Pennick's 'Science-Image and Reality'. An edited version is included here. The original appeared in 'Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review' No. 3

### THREE

Student Unions occupy a lot of the time of student activists. There are two articles on the subject; one arguing for anarchist participation in Student Unions and one against. (Let two flowers bloom)

### FOUR

A bibliography on students and education generally.

### FIVE

The student anarchist group. The anarchist millennium seems to be as far away as ever and it is essential to have activities to engage in now, rather than wait passively on the arrival of a revolution which may never come. Two articles relate to the subject of student anarchist groups and what they should be doing. The first is an account of the anarchist group at Warwick University for the academic year 1979/80 and the second is an account of one particular campaign at Warwick in the same academic year.

### SIX

Something on that fatal day when students complete their studies and are forced to go and get a job (or sign on). In the words of the immortal Tom Lehrer

'Soon we'll be out amid the cold world's strife,

Soon we'll be sliding down the razor-blade of life.'

The article that appeared in Freedom of 1st March, 1980 was excellent and should be reproduced verbatim in the eventual pamphlet. It doesn't reappear here, but there is an article on student workers.

### SEVEN

A criticism of 'assessment'. Some years ago a pamphlet appeared on this subject. ('Marked for Life - a criticism of assessment at Universities' by A. Powell and B. Butterworth) Unfortunately, this is no longer available. Particularly interesting would be more detailed research into the tie-up between exams and student suicide



Then, finally, an article on what sort of education might be available in an anarchist society. A criticism of my course here at Warwick follows a description of it and then an alternative is presented. A lot of material that should go in the eventual pamphlet has been omitted due to the pressures of time and a lot of what has been written is inadequate. If you can do better, send your stuff to me

Mo, c/o FREEDOM



# WARWICK ANARCHISTS

## THE ANARCHIST ASSOCIATION AT WARWICK 1979/80

In the previous academic year the Anarchist Association at Warwick University had hardly functioned at all and so in October 1979 we were really starting from scratch. The first thing we did was to hold a public meeting with a speaker brought in from outside and David Peers of 'Freedom' gave a very good talk to about twenty people. That a public meeting could only attract twenty people is an indication of the low level of interest in politics at Warwick and the only new people who were prepared to offer more than a paper commitment to the Anarchist Association were three of us who were already anarchists before we got to Warwick. Given the two people left over from the previous year we now had five members in a university with over five thousand students.

It seemed to me that the problem was that we weren't actually doing anything. It's all very well saying "look at us, we're the Anarchist Association," people just think, "well if you're the Anarchist Association, what are you doing about it." By not being involved in some sort of activity that people could come along and help with we were implicitly saying that being an anarchist didn't amount to anything in practice. The solution, I thought, was to organize some sort of event to attract peoples' attention and we decided on a week of talks to highlight the problems faced by prisoners.

As the programme shows, Prisoner's Week had a strong anarchist bias with Jake Prescott (who was unable to attend), Jerry Westall, Ruth Wajsbloom, Iris Mills and Ronan Bennet all being either anarchists or sympathizers. As such events go Prisoner's Week was quite successful. We sold a lot of literature, raised money for Radical Alternatives to Prison and got two recruits to the Anarchist Association. This, for me, was the main point of the exercise. Prisoners were just one of many issues that we could have taken up. I now see that there are major problems in this manipulative sort of approach and that if not careful we could find ourselves exploiting specific issues in order to gain recruits to the movement on Trotskyist lines. Then again, my view of Prisoner's Week was probably affected by the fact that I would have preferred to be involved in something more specifically anarchist.

Prisoner's Week was held early on in the second term and a similar event was arranged for the third term. The Legalize Cannabis Campaign was a limited success on its own terms but a failure from an anarchist point of view in that we didn't put any anarchist views across but only liberal ones. The Anarchist Association as such did two more things. We organized the Warwick contingent who went to the abortive occupation of Torness and had a picket one afternoon of Long Latten prison where Doug Wakefield has been held in solitary confinement for FIVE YEARS.

Anarchist Association members have been involved in other issues including the National Abortion Campaign, Anti-Racist Week, the Student Union elections, the Midlands Anarchist Federation, putting on a Dario Fo farce called "We Can't Pay, We Won't Pay", running a bookstall (for the first term and half of the second one) and the occupation of the University Administration building (see separate article). In fact I've forgotten one thing. There was a public debate between Pete Corne (ex deputy President of the Student Union and founder-member of the Warwick Anarchist Association) and someone from the S.W. P.

So what happens next year. This year saw a lot of activity but not enough on specifically anarchist lines. One of the most encouraging things was the debate with the S.W. P. and something similar is a must for next year. Other possibilities are disputing the course content and fighting the exam system. See you next year.

B.H. Moseley.

## THE OVERSEAS STUDENT FEES INCREASE CAMPAIGN

A general meeting of the Students' Union decided to occupy Senate (the University Administration building) in protest at the government's decision to increase the fees charged to overseas students. Another U.G.M. decided to end the occupation after only one day because the University in the shape of Jack Butterworth our Vice-Chancellor, had agreed to hold a national conference at which institutes of higher education would co-ordinate action to oppose the fees increase. The Far Left argued that Butterworth couldn't be trusted and the occupation should be continued but a U.G.M. of about 500 (usual attendance 250) voted heavily in favour of withdrawal. This was in the first term. In the second term it transpired that the national conference to oppose the fees increase would first of all discuss not how to oppose the increase but how to implement it with the least amount of damage and second that the conference would take place too late, i.e. after the increase had been implemented.

The ensuing occupation of Senate (again after a vote taken at a U.G.M.) lasted five or six days. After the University had obtained an injunction of some sort or another a meeting of those who happened to be in occupation at the time voted by the narrow margin of 45 to 40 to leave peacefully on Monday morning rather than insist on being carried out by the police. This pathetic capitulation was the end of the campaign. On Monday evening a piano recital at the University's Arts Centre was disrupted and a few abortive attempts at picketing the university entrance were made but the campaign was really over. The University's official news-letter makes interesting reading.

## UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

### NEWSLETTER

#### Statement by the Senate Steering Committee on the present disruptions

1. The recent occupation of the Senate House by students was carried out in pursuance of a motion passed at a Union General Meeting which called for this University unilaterally to refuse to implement the minimum fees laid down for overseas students in and after 1980-81.
2. The University Senate and Council have laid down, and Council has recently reaffirmed, University policy in the matter. The University has consistently deplored the existence of differential fees for overseas students, both on moral and educational grounds. The University supports the calling of a national conference of Universities to consider how the ill-effects of the present policy might be avoided. Both Senate and Council consider, however, that a unilateral defiance of the Government would not be in the University's best interests. It is their considered judgement that the financial effects of such a policy would be far worse than those which will result from implementation. This means that many more University jobs would be placed at risk by non-implementation and the Senate and Council do not feel able by such action to bring nearer the moment when redundancies might have to be considered. The University is committed to a policy of collective action with other universities and continues to press for a national conference at an early date.
3. The chance of other universities taking the line proposed by the students for Warwick is very slim. So far, about a third of all universities have reached a decision in the



matter, and they have all decided to apply the new fees. There is no indication that any university is at the moment proposing non-implementation.

4. Furthermore, any university which did consider non-implementation would have to allow for completely equating home and overseas fees, because after October 1980 the continuance of the present differential will no longer be exempted from the provisions of the Race Relations Act. Exemption will be applied only to the new arrangements now authorised by Government.
5. Insofar as the recent increase in fees will cause hardship to existing overseas students, there will be a need for augmentation of the Hardship Fund which was set up to assist the most needy. Senate and Council have already asked that sufficient funds be allocated to meet the needs of students currently on course who may face financial hardship.
6. The sit-in lasted from 2 p.m. on Wednesday, 13th February, to 10.30 a.m. on Monday, 18th February. More than three days work was lost to virtually all the staff employed in the Senate house. From the first look round the building after the occupation, damage and dilapidation will cost quite a lot of money to repair. The whole operation has been a waste of time, energy, money and resources, both inside and outside the University. It was done on the vote of a Union General Meeting, and the Union will be held responsible for the damages. It will have no effect whatsoever on the debates about university finance or overseas students' fees, other than to help convince the public that universities and particularly students ought not to be supported.
7. The University Council was told by the President that the further disruptions now going on are not in pursuance of the Union of Students' policy but are being organised by a minority group, in which it seems that some taking part are not even members of the University. The behaviour of this group is utterly condemned by the Steering Committee. The ugly disruption of the Fou T'song piano recital on Monday night, in which some children in the audience were visibly frightened, was an act of futile vandalism far removed from rational political protest. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the real aim of these acts has little to do with overseas students' fees; the aim is at permanent disruption of the work of the University. In this the minority group have no chance of succeeding, but they can cause pointless annoyance to members of our academic community and to the public at large. It is to be hoped that members of the University will act with speed to restore order and responsibility.

The University will be working normally on Thursday, 21st February, regardless of threatened disruptions.

The boycott of the University referred to in the last line of the newsletter occurred but lecture boycotts are totally ineffective even if they do take place, let alone if they don't. The Far Left group Red Flame put out a nice leaflet on the subject.

UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK  
Good Food and Friendly Service.

#### NOTICE TO OUR PATRONS

Many of you may have been concerned by rumours stating that the University was to be brought to a standstill today. Thankfully, due to quick and effective action taken by oberleutnant Rowe-Evans to suppress any form of action by students, this threat has been rendered impotent.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank all our friends and acquaintances in the courts and police force who made our victory complete. Thanks also to the Students' Union Executive who fought continually on our behalf against those arrogant and mindless Union members who seem to believe that it is up to students to determine their Union policy.

Not only do these people express verbal opposition to the Government's policies, which is reasonable, but they are prepared to oppose them in practice, which is clearly unacceptable. They fail to appreciate that all liberal civilised people support their aims wholeheartedly - OF COURSE THERE WILL BE A CONFERENCE - it may even discuss overseas students' fees! But we must be realistic. The cuts will be implemented, they will cripple many departments and the Students' Union, and they will put many people out of work. Only by implementing can we preserve freedom and democracy. This may seem contradictory to some people. They can be dealt with.

Also we can affirm most definitely that our new policy of repression at any price has the full support of all academic staff (as is evidenced by the Senate decisions of Thursday 6th March) - so much for the students' claim that they form some kind of alliance with lecturers!

Clearly, then, there is no cause for concern. Business will continue as usual.

Power and efficiency.

#### The Administration.

SHORTLY before the end of term the University announced that it was going to take disciplinary action against 14 students and the only activity now on the Fees Campaign is to help the defence of the 14. So far the only results are that charges against one student have been dropped, and another has been rusticated for a year, but the rustication is suspended for a year, so in effect there's no penalty at all - provided Vince behaves himself in his last year here. It seems likely that no real sentences will be handed down and that the disciplinary hearings were intended only to

Continued on page 14



"And at our college I masterminded this fantastic experiment. I put two students alone in an empty room. One student left the room and the remaining student had to guess who was left in the room. The results were amazing. 72% success rate."



frighten us and put a final end to the campaign. (But future sentences may prove me wrong).

Several lessons can be learned from the failure of the Fees Campaign:-

1. Try not to take action via UGMS since this sets up the union (a wealthy body running several bars, providing athletic facilities etc) as a financial target.
2. Don't back down at any stage. When a campaign loses momentum it's finished.
3. Don't trust Jack Butterworth!

There are various other things to be said. Obviously the University was never going to refuse to implement the cuts, however strong a campaign was launched. However, with sufficient militancy something could have been achieved, especially if the various actions taking place around the country had been coordinated. The National Union of Students predictably did nothing but more on those parasites in a separate article. The Arts Centre disruption was futile and stemmed from the combination of wanting to do something but not possessing any real power. Just what actions students can take to influence their colleges is problematic. Rent strikes? Anything at all? Contributions please.

## STUDENT UNIONS PRO AND CON

AT WARWICK the Students' Union is an example of direct democracy. The officials who run the union are elected to their posts, every post is contested annually and a vote at a Union General Meeting (these are held almost every week in term time) can remove any official from his or her post. It may seem odd, then, to advocate that anarchists neither attend UGMs nor contest the elections. There are various reasons for taking this position:-

ONE SU politics take up too much time for the strictly limited returns available. Passing motions on Palestine, say, is a complete and utter waste of time which this year took up nearly a whole UGM. Useful motions can be passed - for example those sending money to worthy organisations - but money can also be raised by voluntary subscription which leads nicely to the next point.

TWO Most students boycott union politics. The typical turnout at a UGM is 250 (out of over 5000) and any motions passed cannot be said to represent the student body. Resentment is caused by the widely held prejudice that the Left controls the union, and sending money to local strikers and a women's refuge wasn't exactly popular. The way the union runs makes it unrepresentative and estranges the majority of students.

THREE Working through the union sets it up as a target. The union was reported (by a member of the Federation of Conservative Students) to some legal body or other which ordered the return of the monies mentioned above on pain of the union losing its charitable status. Because the decision to occupy the University administrative building was taken at a UGM the union has been threatened with the bill for damage, allegedly caused during the occupation.

FOUR The existence of sabbatical posts establishes a career structure for bureaucrats and other self-seekers, especially at national level. The union at Warwick runs several bars, doing tens of thousands of pounds' business with breweries and this turned out useful for two sabbatical officers. This year's Education and Welfare officer abandoned his post halfway through the year in order to take a job with the Carlsberg brewery and last year's president is now with the Licenced Victuallers' Association. How cosy.

FIVE The existence of the union discourages people from doing things for themselves. Last year's Executive have been criticised for not backing campaigns strongly enough but why was their backing thought to be necessary? Attitudes must be changed till people realise they can do things without having them authorised by some official body or other.

I am not advocating opposing SUs on principle but saying that if we cannot find better things to do with our time then we might as well give up. Authoritarians want to take over SUs in order to manipulate them for their own ends. Do we?

MO

IT IS BEYOND doubt that most student politicians are self-seeking careerists, that the bureaucracies in student unions contradict their nominal democratic structures and that the National Union of Students exemplifies a venal and soft-bellied anti-militancy. But I wish to argue why it remains important for libertarians to take an active part in the decision-making processes of the student movement at local and national level.

Let me outline the fortunate situation at Warwick University. The students' union has a budget of around £250,000 a year and approaching 6000 members. The sovereign body of the union is a weekly meeting open to all students. Attendances at these weekly meetings unfortunately rarely exceed 10 per cent of students and the quorum is a mere 200. The union has six full time student officers, elected by an annual campus-wide secret ballot. The union is a constituent organisation of the National Union of Students, the sovereign body of which is a biannual delegate conference (Warwick's delegates are elected by secret ballot immediately subsequent to a hustings of candidates).

All facets of higher education - from the allocation of research grants to the determination of course content and assessment, to the auality of refectory meals - are decided from above. Given this situation it is clearly right and appropriate for students to organise at both local and national level to provide an official forum for students' views, and to stimulate social, political and cultural facilities for students. This justification of students' unions is similar to that argued for trades unions - two points are worthy of emphasis; students unions are autonomous of the university authorities, and embody (at least in theory) an element of direct democracy. If these elements of autonomy and direct democracy are not fully realised, it is largely because of the lack of vigilance of students. Surely the work of student libertarians should be to encourage such vigilance - to promote involvement in the weekly open meetings, to open up the unions activities, and to extend the 'political' to include a questioning of academic values and of the quality of campus life.

The story of national liaison among student libertarians is short and dismal. This is, however, no justification for attacking the concept of a national students' union. The local students' unions are of greater importance, and these bodies do approximate towards - in a vague and prefigurative sense - the small-scale, democratic and self-governing community. In a students' union election, most of the voters would know some of the candidates. I can see nothing improper in libertarians standing their own candidates - or participating in left electoral alliances - as part of campaigns to safeguard the democratic structures of students' unions and to draw attention to particular student and 'external' political issues. At Warwick anarchists have from time to time been elected to the Students' Union executive. To be honest, these anarchists have left no permanent mark on the union - but they have completed their year of office without renouncing their principles, or without being swamped by an avalanche of reaction.

The most dangerous aspect of the anti-student politics'



argument is the suggested withdrawal from the weekly open meetings. At Warwick these meetings are now held in low esteem, damaged by the 'mindless militancy' approach of many of the motions discussed, and brought into disrepute by the continuous constitutional and procedural bickering between the various political tendencies represented. But it is important that the weekly meetings retain their decision-making bodies. Rather than turn our backs on this experiment in direct democracy turned sour, we should work to increase attendances at these meetings, to move towards a balance in discussion of 'student' and of 'external' topics, in short to extend confidence in direct democratic structures and trust in the decisions they make.

Of course, this does not mean that student libertarians should be straitjacketed by the constitutional formalities. Nor does it mean that an excessive amount of activity should be devoted to creating union policy and to electioneering. Nor does it mean that we should indulge in the sectarian and recruitment-oriented politics of the Leninist student groups. What I am arguing is that within the broad political interests of student libertarians some room must be found for an attitude towards the students' unions themselves, and that this attitude should be one of encouraging the democratic, campaigning and self-regulating aspects of the student movement.

W.A.

## Science: Image & Reality

"THE SCIENTIST should be a man willing to listen to every suggestion, but determined to judge for himself. He should not be biased by appearances; have no favourite hypothesis; be of no school; in doctrine have no master. He should not be a respecter of persons but of things. Truth should be his primary object."

This quotation of Michael Faraday (1791-1867), discoverer of the basic principles of electricity, summarises the qualities of 'science'. Like many aspects of society, science has an image and a reality which do not coincide. Those who have been exposed to a 'scientific training' are presented with a concept and methodology generally going under the name of 'scientific method'. This is presented to the neophyte and lay public alike as an ethos, elevated almost to the status of a creed, by which professional scientists live. Essentially, it is the concept that the scientist must be an ever doubting, ever-questioning, open-minded seeker after truth. The only guide, so the concept preaches, is evidence deduced by painstaking experimentation and observation. 'Nothing but the facts', so to speak.

Unfortunately, image and reality scarcely ever coincide - especially when a power structure is dependent upon the unchanging image. Those who have studied science and worked at the laboratory bench know all too well that the ideal is observed more in the breach than in the practice. Like all histories, the history of science is littered with egotism, vanity and authoritarianism. Time and again, the power of academic orthodoxy has been brought to bear upon ideas and observations which contradict the prevailing atmosphere of 'official' opinion....

... The reason for suppressing heretical ideas is clear. The power of an establishment is built in part upon its credibility. Theories which totally expose espoused by an elite establishment have to be prevented from reaching the ears of the lower orders of the set-up. If they were allowed to fairly evaluated, they might prove to be correct, which would then destroy the position of the orthodox elite. As the prestige, power and livelihoods of the establishment depend upon the maintenance of the status quo, thought control is an easy option. However by this method, advancement can be and is seriously retarded....

The organs of knowledge, Journals of the self-styled 'learned societies', directly under the control of an elite, the upper echelons of a hierarchy, serve merely to present evidence to reinforce the status quo. Scientific censorship and thought control, under the guise of the 'peer review' and 'referee' system where papers are sent to anonymous experts (high-up members of the elite) to be accepted or rejected, is practiced in these journals. Since the way to rise in the hierarchy is through publication of work, those who try to publish outside the 'acceptable norms' are refused publication while being noted as rebels. Those with ideas which run counter to the cherished paradigms of the establishment are given the cold shoulder....

... The vested interests of education and research grants do not want to rock the boat. Funding of new research is under the control of the same elite either directly or indirectly, through experts or committees or as advisors. Money is allocated to areas which are extensions of existing work - in the 'mainstream'....

... What relevance has any of this to the real world of neutron bombs, torture and repression. One may ask. The cloistered existence of the academic scientist, whether of the orthodox or 'crank' persuasion may appear to have little to do with the lives of the 'person on the clapham omnibus' (if it still runs). However, the stifling of creativity, the exclusion from the culture of the world of ideas which may enrich life, is a hidden form of censorship far more insidious than the incessant banning of books so beloved by governments the world over. In Szent-Gyorgy's case, it may delay the discovery of a cure for cancer. In other cases, the cause is even more fundamental. It underlines the control which an elite few wield over the many, a model for the other fields of human life where those who believe they should rule have not yet encroached.

(Extracts from an article written by Nigel Pennick)



You don't have to be in the Army  
to fight in the war...  
French student Paris 1968.



# FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

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## BOOKSHOP NOTES

The general theme for this "notes" is Anarchism in North America; and the new title received this week which was the spur to build an article around this theme is The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States by Paul Avrich (£7.95 plus 93p post); Avrich after three fine books on Russian Anarchism seems to be turning his attention ever more closely to American Anarchism, and this interesting title focussing on the work of such neglected figures as Leonard Abbott, Harry Kelly and Joseph Cohen as well as better known ones such as Rudolf Rocker, Francisco Ferrer, is a fascinating addition to his previous title on American Anarchism: An American Anarchist: The Life of Voltairine de Cleyre - still available though not currently in stock at £15.00 (£1.21).

Representing the more individualist trend in American Libertarian History we have Benjamin R. Tucker: Individual Liberty (294pp cloth) £8.95 (75p) a selection from his writings that includes most of his more important works; and also Henry D. Thoreau, whose Walden (£3.50 plus 75p post) and Maine Woods (£4.75 plus 75p post) are available in paperback in beautifully illustrated editions with photographs from the Gleason collection.

America especially in its earliest times was a haven for those escaping persecution in Europe, some of whom built communitarian settlements across America many of which lasted well into the twentieth century, three useful titles on this aspect of American History are Mark Holloway's Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America 1680 - 1880 (246pp. ppr.) £1.90 (41p post); Charles Nordhoff's The Communist Societies of the United States From Personal Observations (432pp. ppr.) £2.15 (75p post) and George Kateb's Utopia and its enemies (244pp. ppr.) £2.10 (36p).

Perhaps the most interesting title on Anarchist Thought in America in its earliest days - as early as the times of Ame Hutchinson, Henry Vane and John Wheelwright in the Seventeenth Century is Native American Anarchism by Eunice M. Schuster - now available in a slightly cheaper(!) edition at £7.50 (75p post) (202pp cloth).

The Industrial Workers of the World have been a potent force on (particularly) the American Political and Industrial scene - and increasingly in Europe and Australasia - since their formation in 1905. Their own history of their turbulent times in the twentieth century is The IWW: Its first Seventy Years. 1905 - 1975 by Fred W. Thompson and Patrick Murfin (238pp. ppr.) £2.75 (50p post).

The most famous wobbly was of course Joe Hill, and although there is no biography of him from a committedly libertarian standpoint (as far as I know) we do have an interesting (albeit marxist) book by Philip S. Foner: The Case of Joe Hill (127pp. ppr.) £1.50 (26p post). Incidentally we also have available the Wobbly's paper: Industrial Worker (15p plus 10p post) (£3.00 for a twelve issue subscription).

Focussing now on four women all of whom played vital roles in the American Anarchist Movement - Emma Goldman, Lucy Parsons, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Mother Jones. Currently in stock of Emma Goldman's writings we have Red Emma Speaks: The Selected Speeches and Writings of Emma Goldman edited by Alix Kates Shulman (someone should really reprint her excellent biography of Emma Goldman) (413pp. ppr.) £3.95 (50p post) and from the same editor The Traffic in Women and other essays on Feminism (62p ppr.) £1.25 (17p post). On Lucy Parsons we have Lucy Parsons: American Revolutionary by Carolyn Ashbaugh (288pp. ppr.) £2.75 (41p post); by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn we have "The Aldersen Story": My Life as a Political



Prisoner. (223pp ppr.) £1.95 (41p post). On Mother Jones we have Mother Jones, Woman Organiser by Priscilla Lang (40pp. ppr. illustr.) £1.50 (17p post) and by Mother Jones we have her own Autobiography (242pp ppr.) £2.50 (41p post).

Three other important figures in American Anarchist and Labour history are Ammon Hennacy, Catholic Anarchist and longtime activist with the "Catholic Worker" in the U.S., Randolph Bourne, who in his only thirty-two years produced an astonishing body of writing, and Eugene Debs, who although not an anarchist is one of the few socialists for whom I personally have an unbounded admiration; and from these three we have Ammon Hennacy's Autobiography The Book of Ammon (490pp. ppr.) £3.50 (93p post); The Radical Will: The Selected Writings of Randolph Bourne 1911 - 1918. Edited by Olaf Hansen (548 pp. ppr.) £5.25 (75p); and "Walls and Bars" by Eugene V. Debs (286pp. ppr.) £2.00 (50p post) - being mainly Debs's considerable experiences in and critique of the American Prison system. Also by Debs we have The Canton Speech (31pp ppr.) £0.40 (10p post), for making which he was imprisoned by the U.S. Government.

Last, but by no means least, we have just received the latest two issues of "The Phoenix" an American occasional-but vast - journal, previous issues of which I reviewed in "Freedom" two years ago. Each issue is approximately 400 pages and costs \$10 plus say a dollar for postage. The two issues to hand contain, amongst much else, articles on a recent trial (and acquittal - eventually) of two Native Americans indicted for murder, on the fate of the Paraguayan Indians, the Chinese and Czech Human Rights Movements, Robert Ellsberg on jail after the Rocky Flats Plutonium Plant Vigil of 1978, the reprint of an interesting pamphlet by William Morris, E. Belfast Bax and Victor Dane on the Commune of Paris 1871, Short Stories, poetry, and much more. The Phoenix is available direct from the publishers at Morning Star Farm, West Whately, RFD Haydenville, Mass 01039. USA at \$11.00 per issue (incl. post) or to special order from Freedom Bookshop (approx. £4.50 each incl. postage)

J. H.

(All the items mentioned in this "notes" - with the exception of "Red Emma Speaks" - are published in the United States, Transatlantic purchasers please note that the current conversion rates are U.S. £1 = \$2.40: Canada £1 = \$2.80)



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